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SRC Annual Meeting Charts Course for 1947

Top Officers Reelected as Southern Regional Council Lays Plans for Drive for Better Law Enforcement

REPORTS on the past year's work, a summary of SRC's future role in the South's development, a clarification of SRC's philosophy and methods of action, and an informal talk on civil rights by a top official of the U. S. Department of Justice made the third annual meeting of the Southern Regional Council in Atlanta November 13 what many members called "the best so far."

A two-day conference of Fellows of SRC on November 14-15 topped off the successful meeting with a helpful and stimulating series of reports from individual states.

Top officers of SRC were reelected to serve during 1947, but the resignations of Executive Director Guy B. Johnson and Secretary-Treasurer Emily H. Clay were accepted with regrets and commendations for service rendered. Dr. Johnson, who has led the organization's staff since its inception, tendered his resignation to take effect in the spring or summer of 1947 when he will return to the faculty of the University of North Carolina. He was reelected executive director pending his departure and the appointment of his successor. No action was taken on naming his successor at the annual meeting. Miss Clay announced that she was moving to Florida with her family and would retire after three years with SRC and 20 years prior service with the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, whose functions were absorbed by SRC when it was established in 1944.

Paul D. Williams, of Richmond, Va., was reelected president of the Southern Regional Council for 1947, his second term. Also reelected were P. B. Young of Norfolk, Frank W. Spencer of Savannah and Carter Wesley of Houston as vice-presidents; and Dr. Johnson as executive director and Dr. Harold L. Trigg as associate executive director. Mrs. Inez B. Tillison was elected secretary-treasurer to succeed Miss Clay.

Civil Rights

Guest speaker was Turner L. Smith, chief of the Civil Rights Division of the U. S. Department of Justice, who talked informally on the problems of civil rights and, as far as discretion permitted, discussed his division's efforts and progress in obtaining justice in recent violations of civil rights in the South. Mr. Smith emphasized that present Federal civil rights law was primarily designed to protect the individual from oppression by the government, either Federal or state, and not to protect one individual from another. He said that such violations of human rights as the Monroe, Ga., lynching were a threat to Democracy and to every individual's freedom, but warned that Americans must give the problem careful thought before they

enacted laws which might endanger the citizen's freedom from oppression by government.

Mr. Smith, answering questions about the Federal government's role in a case like the Monroe lynching, pointed out that the Department of Justice could prosecute only if the state, through any official, were a party to the crime and could even then obtain conviction only if it could be proved that such an official had wilfully deprived the citizen of his civil rights. He stressed the importance of the word "wilfully" as the key to the difficulty of obtaining conviction. Mr. Smith told SRC members that the Civil Rights Division received more than 30,000 letters, telegrams and other communications from people all over the Nation demanding that the perpetrators of the Monroe lynching be brought to justice.

Tactics

Council President Williams, who has given unsparingly of his time and energy in the work of SRC, in opening the meeting took notice of "some fundamental issues which need to be turned over in the minds of the members . . . not only for the guidance of the staff . . . but also for the clarification of these issues on the thinking of the membership." He then briefly but keenly analyzed the philosophy of tactics in the work of SRC and the meaning of the much-used and misused word, "action."

In his report on the Council's work in 1946, Dr. Johnson said the year could be characterized as "a period of reaction," referring to the reelection of Senator Bilbo in Mississippi, the come-back of Governor Eugene Talmadge in Georgia, renewed efforts to retain or restore the white primary and the outbreaks of violence in the South.

"Yes, the trend is discouraging, and we may as well face the fact that it will probably get worse," Dr. Johnson said. "It complicates our problem, because it is the very antithesis of what this Council stands for, but we must accept the challenge and work all the harder for those things we know to be right. . . .

Law Enforcement

"In the field of police and law enforcement, two needs are more apparent than ever: (1) higher professional standards of police officers especially in their handling of minority groups, and (2) greater use of Negro policemen."

Dr. Johnson said the Council was preparing a manual on human relations for police officers and said that the idea of using Negro police is "spreading steadily" in the South.

Dr. Trigg, speaking of the role of the Council in the future of the South, pointed out that the region has an abundance of human and natural resources but is deficient in institutions for developing these resources and in the application of scientific methods and capital resources.

"This lack of balance . . . manifests itself in unhealthy symptoms . . . in every phase of regional living—inadequate educational facilities, poor health, low income and low purchasing power, outside ownership of limited regional capital, frustrated personalities, destructive competition, restrictions to use of the ballot, and the various anti-social expressions that stem from personal and economic insecurity," Dr. Trigg said.

'Marginal Men'

Stressing the point that the South's basic problem is the great number of "marginal men," white and colored, "who live on the margin of fear and want," he said:

"It is naive for the Negro to think that some power, seen or unseen, can bring full flowered democracy to 10 million black men, and leave a larger number of white men on their margin of insecurity. The Negro challenges the constructive leadership of the South to lift the ceiling of living for these marginal men so that all may attain the essentials to freedom of spiritual expression and safety of person."

Paul D. Williams
SRC President

The Tactics of Progress

Some Questions on the Philosophy and Methods of the Southern Regional Council's Activities

I AM submitting herewith a statement of some fundamental issues which need to be turned over in the minds of the members of the Council at this meeting, not only for the guidance of the staff here in Atlanta but also for the clarification of these issues in the thinking of the membership.

There seem to be two major approaches to the problems involved in human relations, especially in the South. One group would bring pressure from the outside by influencing Federal legislation, by legal action, by political action, and by efforts to influence public opinion within the South against evil men and deeds. The second major approach is by acting as a leaven from within, principally by utilizing men and movements of strength and courage within the states and communities of the Southern Region. The emphasis would be placed largely on encouraging and directing local initiative in the study, planning and solution of local and regional problems.

Major Question

The major question in the minds of the membership seems to be whether or not we shall act as a leaven or utilize outside pressure or both, and in what ratio. This is easily understandable, because of the persistence of traditional methods in the solution of the Negro problem coming down from the techniques and procedures of the previous interracial committees.

If we go into the field of influencing Federal legislation, or even State legislation, it will mean a change in our charter. We are likely to be called on in the near future to take a stand on an anti-lynch bill, on a revised version of FEPC, on Federal aid to education and on other measures which will, in all probability, come up before the next session of Congress.

In the field of legal action the NAACP is already doing a fine piece of work. The question is, should we cooperate with the NAACP, which we have done up to the present, or go into the field of court action ourselves?

The extent to which we can participate in political action within the region is also a question.

Duplicate Efforts?

This whole issue brings up the question of the extent to which we would duplicate the methods and procedures of other organizations, or evolve, devise, and adopt those methods and procedures which may prove most effective within the region itself. The Jacksonville Survey experience is the best example of what may be possible by working with the strong personalities and strong organizations within a community on a plan of community development.

A second question is, How much and what kind of publicity shall we seek? Shall we attempt to influence public opinion in the community against evil men and evil deeds by the same methods of vilification which are characteristic of the current attacks on certain Southern personalities in the press?

A third is: How much of the spectacular can we adopt? There seems to be a very general desire by some that the Council do something that

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Guy B. Johnson
SRC Executive Director

SRC's Work and Plans

A Report on SRC Activities in 1946 *and Suggestions for Needed Action During* 1947

THE year 1946 has brought many things. Perhaps we can best characterize it as a period of reaction. The Nation has "let down" after its great war effort, and the inevitable conservative and reactionary trend has made itself felt in unmistakable ways.

Here in the South we have witnessed the re-election of Senator Bilbo, the come-back of Governor Talmadge, and the renewal of efforts to retain or restore the white primary. We have seen serious racial disturbances at Columbia, Tennessee, and Athens, Alabama, and an upsurge of lynchings climaxed by the most horrible crime of this sort that has been committed in many years—the cold-blooded killing of two Negro men and their wives in Walton County, Georgia. Union organizers have been beaten and Negroes, especially veterans, have increasingly felt the force of extra-legal discipline, sometimes at the hands of officers of the law. We have also seen the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan and the formation of other hate groups, the latest of which is the Columbians of Atlanta, who, we are glad to say, now find themselves in serious difficulties with the police department.

Discouraging Trend

Yes, the trend is discouraging, and we may as well face the fact that it will probably get worse. It complicates our problem, because it is the very antithesis of what this Council stands for, but we must accept the challenge and work all the harder for those things which we know to be right.

Now let me present briefly the highlights of what the Council has been doing and trying to do during 1946.

At this time last year we reported that the Council had been asked to assist with a survey of the Negro community in Jacksonville, Florida. We were authorized to proceed with this. The survey was under the auspices of the Jacksonville Council of Social Agencies and was financed by the Community Chest. Our staff contributed assistance from the planning stage in December on through the editing stage in April. Florida A. & M. College also loaned some personnel for the survey. Dr. Trigg and I made frequent visits to Jacksonville during the survey, and although it took a good deal more time and expense than we had anticipated, we feel that the results more than justified the expense. The survey was printed by the Council of Social Agencies under the title, *Jacksonville Looks at Its Negro Community.* The first edition of 500 copies has been exhausted and a new printing is being made.

Local Product

We believe that the Jacksonville survey was worthwhile on several counts. First, it was a local product. We helped with techniques for fact-finding, but we imposed no recommendations. Every recommendation was agreed upon by local committees. Second, there was a high degree of participation in the work. Over 200 civic leaders, white and Negro, worked on the survey in one way or another. This in itself was a valuable educational process. Third, there is a determined follow-up on the rec-

ommendations of the survey, and several of them have already been implemented.

Numerous inquiries about the survey have come to us and to the Jacksonville Council of Social Agencies, and we know that several cities are planning to undertake surveys on the Jacksonville pattern.

Last year you heard a report on a study of the so-called separate-but-equal transportation facilities in the Atlanta area which was made under the direction of Dr. Ira DeA. Reid. One of our assignments this year was to get action for the equalization of such services. This difficult task has fallen largely upon the shoulders of Mrs. M. E. Tilly, who will report on what has been done. There are no spectacular achievements, but there has been effort and there will be more effort. Let me add that we are now preparing an educational pamphlet entitled "Separate But Equal?" and that we are negotiating for the production of a film strip which will utilize the photographic material collected in the Atlanta study.

Columbia, Tennessee

On February 25 there began a series of tragic racial incidents at Columbia, Tennessee. On the following day Dr. George Mitchell went to Columbia and made a preliminary investigation. Later Mrs. Tilly, Mr. W. B. Twitty, and Mr. Marcus Gunter visited Columbia and gathered additional information. It took time to get at the essential truth about a situation which had been aggravated by biased and inflammatory public statements, pro and con. However, early in the game we were convinced that there had been violations of civil rights, and we urged the U. S. Department of Justice to institute a federal grand jury hearing. Early in April we placed a confidential report in the hands of the Civil Rights Section of the Department of Justice, and we have reason to believe that it was helpful to them.

In *New South* for May the Council's report on Columbia was published, and about 6,000 copies have been disturbed. The reaction to the report has been gratifying, and we believe that the Council rendered a constructive service in its Columbia report.

The acquittal of all but two of the Columbia defendants at the Lawrenceburg trials was one of the bright spots in the Southern picture this year. A friend at Columbia writes: "I am glad to say that since the verdict of the jury our race relations are, for the time being, improving. However, there is likely to be trouble again unless we can plan a program of prevention." You will be interested to know that one of our staff is going to Columbia soon to help organize a Council group there.

When the Walton County lynchings took place in July, one week after the Georgia primary, we issued a public statement and posted a reward of $1,000 for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the lynchers. When Mr. Talmadge, in discussing this atrocity, stated that he was glad to say that no lynching had occurred while he was governor of Georgia, we challenged his statement and pointed out that the records showed 14 lynchings during his three terms as governor. This statement was publicized throughout the country.

Walton Lynchings

All of us are disappointed by the fact that nearly four months have elapsed since the Walton County lynchings without any arrests being made. However, we are still confident that this case is going to break.

The attitude of Governor Arnall and Major William Spence, Director of Public Safety, deserves the highest commendation. They have shown none of the defensiveness or evasiveness which all too frequently are shown by public officials in such a situation, but rather they have thrown all of their resources into the investigation and have wholeheartedly welcomed the cooperation

of the FBI. A federal grand jury will convene next month to hear evidence concerning the lynchings.

Mrs. Tilly has investigated the Walton County tragedy, as well as several other instances of violence during the past few months. She has also taken steps to revive the work of the Association of Georgia Women for the Prevention of Lynching. This work will be revived throughout the South as soon as possible through cooperation with women's religious organizations.

We have kept an eye on the Ku Klux Klan and other undemocratic organizations and have tried to combat them by public statements and counter-propaganda. In cooperation with several agencies here in Georgia, we have worked out some rather effective counter activities against certain agencies. We want to continue this work, so we shall not reveal the details at this time.

Time does not permit a full report on assistance which the Council has given in several cases involving legal rights. The general principle which we follow is this: if the case is of the sort usually handled by the NAACP, we refer the party to the NAACP; if the party merely needs competent legal assistance, we put him in touch with a sympathetic lawyer, and, where necessary, offer to pay a portion of the legal fees.

Police Problems

In the field of the police and law enforcement, two needs are more apparent than ever: (1) higher professional standards of police officers, especially in their handling of minority groups, and (2) greater use of Negro policemen. As you know, we are committed to work on both of these needs. We have made little headway on the first, because we simply have not had the time and resources to do all we would like to do, but we have made some progress in the writing of a manual on human relations for police officers, and we would like to make this one of our major projects for the coming year.

As for Negro policemen, we have had opportunities to do a good deal of educational work on the subject. We are happy to report that the idea of using Negro police is spreading steadily. In the past twelve months the following cities have employed Negro Policemen: Tampa, Ahoskie, N. C., Asheville, N. C., Summerton, S. C., Port Arthur, Texas, Newport News, Virginia, Richmond, Va., Roanoke, Virginia. This brings the total of such cities in the South to 37. In addition cities already having Negro policemen added 39 Negro men and 4 Negro women to their ranks. The City Council of Dallas, Texas, has recently voted to employ Negro police, and the Chief of Police plans to use 14 men as soon as they can be trained.

Field Work

Being a non-political agency, the Council has refrained from becoming involved in the various political campaigns which have created so much heat during the past year. However, we have stood up for the right of all qualified persons to vote, and we have fought against efforts to undo the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Smith **vs.** Allwright. The best work of this sort was done by Dr. R. L. Russell, director of our affiliate, the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, during the effort of the Talmadge forces to purge Negroes from the voting lists in June and July.

By far the most extensive and effective project of the Council this year has been the Veterans Service Project, under the direction of Dr. George S. Mitchell. You will hear a report on this by Dr. Mitchell in a few minutes, so I shall not discuss it here, but I would like to say this: the Veterans Service Project is a forceful demonstration of what this Council could do to serve the cause of progress in the South if it had adequate financial resources.

Our state divisions, Florida, Mississippi, and South Carolina, have grown in size and effectiveness. Florida and

Mississippi have adopted "Equalization of Educational Opportunities" as their major projects and have already begun work on them. Last month the North Carolina Commission on Interracial Cooperation affiliated with the Council. In February we held our second conference of the directors of our state divisions and affiliates, a conference which was very helpful all around. In Tennessee and Louisiana, where there are no state interracial groups, we have been able to do some special promotional work in preparation for setting up state divisions of the Council in the near future. Our greatest need is still more field workers who can work constantly with state and local committees. All of us on the staff have many more demands on our time for this work than we can possibly do justice to.

Other Activities

The honorary Fellows of the Council have given volunteer services in various ways. Ever since the Fellows were first appointed we have wanted to bring them together for a conference. Tomorrow and the next day [Nov. 14-15] the Fellows meet here for their first conference. This has been made possible through a grant from the General Education Board.

The Council now has 1,650 members, a gain of over 100% for the year. We have a cultivation list of several thousand, and we are using a systematic method of cultivation with pretty good results. We hope to be able to report next year that the present membership has at least doubled.

We believe you will agree that the Council's publications have increased in attractiveness and effectiveness. *New South,* which replaced *The Southern Frontier* in January, has received many commendations. Its circulation runs from 4,000 to 6,000 per issue. Through the ingenuity of Ray Warwick, our Public Relations Director, and the cooperation of various scholars, the Council has been able to issue such timely publications as Rupert Vance's *Wanted: the South's Future for the Nation,* Dorothy Dickens' *Wanted: A Healthy South,* and Arthur Raper's *Machines in the Cotton Fields.* These pamphlets are being used extensively by college classes, study groups, and public agencies.

Here let me say a word about our staff. It is a group which works hard and which works more harmoniously than any other I have ever been associated with. There are both gains and losses to report. Dr. Trigg came to us as Associate Director last January, and he has won a high place in the esteem of all with whom he has come in contact. Dr. Ira Reid served as our research consultant until September, when he left Atlanta University to serve as visiting professor at New York University. Miss Jane Martin, who served loyally and efficiently on our secretarial staff for two years, became Mrs. Lynn O'Brien in September and moved to Syracuse. We have recently had the good fortune to secure the services of Mrs. Ruby Ramos, who was in the employ of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation some years ago. It is with the deepest regret that I tell you that Miss Emily Clay has submitted her resignation as Secretary-Treasurer. She and her family are moving to Florida shortly. We envy her the peaceful life she says she is going to live in Florida, but we shall never really be able to fill her place here. In her twenty years with the Commission and her three years with the Council, Miss Clay has labored unselfishly in the cause of racial understanding and justice. She has our gratitude and our good wishes as she goes to her new home.

In your program booklet you will see some additional notes on the services rendered by the Council. On the wall here you will see the publications which we have in print and a selection of clippings which may indicate, among other things, that the Council makes news and has friendly relations with the press.

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Harold L. Trigg
SRC Associate Executive Director

SRC in South's Future

The Region's Resources and Its Problem of 'Marginal Men' as a Fundamental Obstacle to Progress

THE individuals and groups that will render the Southern Region most effective service in the present or future periods of reorganization and readjustment are those who

1. Have faith in the potentialities of the region, and in the growing number of farsighted and courageous leaders who are coming to the front to speak and act for the South.
2. Who recognize the region as a part of the United States and the world with a moral obligation to both.
3. Who recognize the economy of directing inevitable change into desirable channels.
4. Whose vision pierces the veil of unpleasant symptoms of regional deficiencies to underlying realities, and
5. Who have courage to do something about it.

The future of SRC is interwoven with the regional movement to bring a more satisfying living to all of the South's 40 million people by giving aid to the trend toward a balanced economy, and to the crucial problems incident to the change from the old to the new.

Realities

To face reality without making excuses is a healthy sign. The press and radio bring daily evidence that the South is becoming objective in her approach to pressing problems and to the factors which cause them.

The region has natural resources in abundance—fertile lands; favorable climate; energy in coal, oil, gas, and water; minerals; fish; forests and stone; coking coal and iron ore; and natural scenery of enduring beauty.

The region has human resources in abundance—enough for normal population increases within, and a surplus for those urban centers whose populations increase at a decrement.

The region is deficient (1) in her institutions whose function it is to discover and nurture budding genius to flowering production; (2) in the application of scientific method to production, processing, storing, preserving, management and distribution, and in (3) capital resources—machine tools.

This lack of balance in the development of major types of resources manifests itself in unhealthy symptoms which are evident in every phase of regional living—inadequate educational facilities, poor health, low income, and low purchasing power, outside ownership of limited regional capital, frustrated personalities, destructive competition, restrictions to use of the ballot, and the various antisocial expressions that stem from personal and economic insecurity.

Poverty a Symptom

The interaction between men and natural resources is the condition in which these deficiencies breed, but the cause lies in the interaction between men and men—in human relations. Poverty is the symptom. The tragic under-use and mis-use of human resources is the cause.

Ninety percent of the productive ability of 10 million Negroes is lost to occupational determinism — the vestigial belief that black men must be limited to unskilled labor and domestic service in spite of the ac-

cepted psychological principle of individual differences in human abilities. At least 70 percent of the productive ability of the 30 million white population is under-used or lost to the tradition of identifying race and color with the production of goods and services. Thus 75 percent of the productive human wealth of the region is lost to traditional attitudes, and the gap between what the South is and what the South wants to be is not bridged.

So long as the white youth has met his obligation to social and economic progress in the region by merely being white, and the Negro youth has made his contribution by labor requiring little or no ability the South will remain poor. The combined productive capacity of these two groups contains any present or future prospects for balancing the regional economy.

'Marginal Men'

These groups are they who live on the margin of fear and want. Those who are white must be segregated by law to protect their fragile egos. They are the ceiling to the Negro's ambition and attainment. They must be permitted to achieve status and prestige through satisfying success in productive effort rather than through mere identity with the dominant race. It is naive for the Negro to think that some power, seen or unseen, can bring full-flowered democracy to 10 million black men, and leave a larger number of white men on their thin margin of insecurity.

The Negro challenges the constructive leadership of the South to lift the ceiling of living for these marginal men so that all may attain the essentials to freedom of spiritual expression and safety to person.

The race problem in the South is not the Negro but the marginal white man. The regional problem in the South is not race but the plight of all men who live so close to poverty and tragedy that their restricted effort is meaningless and non-productive. To isolate any group for treatment is to obscure the reality.

The crux of the regional problem at present is that these marginal men are not reached except by the demagogue for his benefit and not for theirs. The solution is not primarily to dethrone the demagogue and rabble-rouser, but to reach his followers with a more forceful argument and a sounder program for their betterment and for the unified progress of the entire region.

In our complex society human relations cannot be left to accident. Intelligent planning on regional, state and community levels is essential to effectiveness and any one without the other lacks integration and unity. Every city and county in the South should have an intelligent plan for unified progress if the Region is to reach the man who is on the wrong side of the gap between what is and what is desired for the South.

There are three essentials to this action to reach these marginal men.

1. It must penetrate through to the community level.

2. All of the races and groups in the community should be represented in the planning and execution of the program.

3. It must function toward objectives for the common good—education for all, health for all, recreation for all, housing for all, sanitation for all, employment for all, law enforcement for all, health and medical care for all, the right of suffrage for all.

The current trend toward balance between agriculture and industry, and toward mechanization of agriculture with the inevitable changes in farming, and in the migration of displaced tenants to urban centers within and without the region accentuate the gravity of the situation which the South faces.

SRC's Part

To function maximally in meeting the needs indicated above, the Southern Regional Council must maintain a program of constructive action at every possible point on the social, economic, political and racial frontier of the Region.

This program should be balanced between the important stimulation to community effort in the planning and execution of local programs for progress like the unique project at Jacksonville, Florida, and the interaction with national, regional and state agencies; between the positive, preventive and the corrective; between the long range program and immediate action.

The program can be most effective if it utilizes the strengths of individuals and organizations in every community as well as in state and region. Such a program will need the cooperation of state and local organizations. The part played by SRC will be limited only by its resources in funds and staff.

While this effort to reach the marginal man where he is constitutes a major and long term objective, there are others of pressing importance.

In recent eruptions of violence within the region law enforcement officers have been involved frequently as violators of the law instead of guardians of the dignity and majesty of the law. In addition to punishment of offenders, the more careful selection, adequate training, and higher wages for police officers, including Negro police officers, are urgent needs for the region.

A third and immediate objective involves planning for softening the impact of industrialization and of mechanization of cotton production on the millions of workers who will be forced to change the type of farming or migrate in search of non-farm jobs within and without the region. A national advisory committee enters the picture here with a definite challenge.

Other Goals

In addition to these three major objectives the Council will continue (1) to press for equal employment opportunities and services from public funds and quasi-public agencies, (2) to serve veterans when feasible; (3) to disseminate vital information through the New South; (4) to cooperate in all efforts to extend to all citizens the right to choose their representatives in government; (5) to cooperate with all legitimate efforts to include the Negro in organized labor; (6) and to promote the expansion of equal educational opportunity for all citizens.

The region is committed to "working out our problems here together." If this commitment is to become a reality it means that leaders of all races and groups will not wait for the social structure to catch on fire, but will take immediate steps to convert our personal and institutional relationships into a fire-proof structure.

Millions are spent in preparing the soil for cotton seed and in cultivating it in order to get a maximum yield, but our children are planted in urban and rural slums of undernourished parents, nurtured in filth, provided with poor schools and later with low income jobs. We build a mold in the shape of a rat, and expect to jell a dove. When no doves come we say the raw material was faulty. If "gradualism" means the "long, slow tedious process" let the South shape the mold for the good citizen and give the orderly processes of directed natural growth a chance to produce the end product which we desire. The South will get out of her citizens what she puts in them.

Forces For Good

The forces for good in the South must press relentlessly toward reshaping the human mold, and toward setting spiritual and material production as the criterion for good ciitzenship instead of identity with race, color and creed—not as a favor to the Negro but as America's moral obligation to a world seeking the formula for universal peace.

Movements produce words which in turn kill the movement. The criterion is not "gradualism" or "explosion" but "effectualism"—using all of the methods and vehicles which get

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George S. Mitchell
SRC Director of Veterans Services

The Negro Veteran in the South

Obstacles and Opportunities in the Negro Veteran's Struggle for a Chance to Grow

IN June of last year some of those who have worked closely with the Council, recalling the distressing experiences that the South went through at the close of the first World War, undertook to do what could be found to do to ease transition to civilian economy. Naturally, the effort centered upon the adjustment of veterans.

It was recalled from 1919-20 that the tensions and conflict of that period were considerably lessened by the hasty building of interracial committees in many Southern cities and in each Southern state. New as these organizations were, they were almost the only vehicle for concession and adjustment. This time, it was seen, the South had equipped itself with a great variety of organizations, and much help could be counted on in solving the problems that would arise. Therefore, it seemed clear, one of the first things to do would be to become acquainted with the leadership, purpose, and capabilities of the many private and official agencies who could help.

State-by-State

As far as possible, this was done in surveys state by state of services available to Negro veterans. That meant interviews with officials of the Veterans Administration, the several State veterans service agencies, State Departments of Education, local representative of the American Red Cross, Veterans Information Centers, Apprenticeship Councils, national, state and local officials of the NAACP and of the Urban League, representatives of various religious bodies, veterans organizations, trade union officials and influential local citizens.

In the early months of the work your speaker had the audacity to suppose that he could see most of these people himself. When later we cast about for help, we tried to find white veterans of this war who could do some of the traveling and interviewing. The thought was that, particularly in the various Government offices in Southern towns, the white veteran would have an edge over the Negro veteran in being received and getting the information asked for. As it turned out, the white veterans were hard to find and Negro veterans wanted the job. One of the most pleasant discoveries of the enterprise has been the readiness with which these young men were received in big cities and in small towns all over the South. They have handed in their cards at hundreds of local offices, and although they have at this or that place been treated to delay, they have almost without exception been given frank and courteous interviews. This is a tribute in good part to the quality and ability of the men, but I should not like it to be missed that it is a testimony also to an increased understanding among Southern officials of the greater stature of Negroes and of Negro veterans as citizens in the South.

Field Agents

For some months we had seven or eight of these young men moving about. Two of them were white. We now have three full-time men and three who fit this travel on a part-time basis into college or other work. In most cases the men have worked the states to which they were native, and we have found this quite a help in their getting about. Formal sur-

veys of services to Negro veterans have been completed and printed for Alabama, Arkansas, and Louisiana. One for Oklahoma is at the printers, and we can probably get others out for Mississippi, North Carolina, Texas, and Tennessee in a short while.

As we got further into the interviewing, we came to see that the two services to veterans that bear most directly upon Southern problems were those offered in the fields of employment and education. It was apparent that wherever veterans could be aided in finding good jobs that would use their highest skills or wherever they could be fitted into a course of training that promises employment later in skilled or semi-skilled work, progress was being made. My own theory may be quite wrong, but it seemed to me that nothing would more quickly fan the flame of discontent of the South than blunted ambition on the part of a large proportion of the six or seven hundred thousand Negro veterans who have come back to the South. Contrariwise, each man who could be helped to find what he had hoped for might be counted upon as one who would spread pride in achievement and faith in the possibilities of the situation to others.

Quiet Persuasion

So a lot of quiet persuasion was used in a lot of towns and country places to build a bridge between the official services and the Negro veterans. Your typical local veterans servicing officer whom we went to see had a dingy office up a flight of wooden steps at 802½ Main Street. He was a little surprised to have a Negro veteran call on him for general conversation as to how Negro veterans were getting along in his town, but he always opened up. He said he had been there eight months; he had put it in the paper repeatedly that his office was open to veterans of both groups. The white fellows had come up very well, but to tell the truth not a great many of the colored veterans were coming. Just why he did not know. And he would welcome whatever the man before him could do to interest them in the various benefits they could get through his office.

Generally, in two or three days our agent could see a good many Negro veterans and various leaders in the community. Usually a meeting of the Negro veterans would be arranged, and the service officer would be invited to adress it. The service officer always closed with a genuinely cordial invitation to the Negro veterans to come up tomorrow morning and he would see what he could do, and the veterans went.

I was not hiding behind the screens after the first visit of six or eight Negro veterans asking for job training or on-the-farm training or for good full-time institutional training in a mechanical skill or for apprenticeship training, but I would guess that a good many veterans servicing officers after that interview, picked up the phone and called their state headquarters and asked what in the world they should do because they had a whole lot of Negro veterans there asking for these benefits.

Some Gains

Something of this kind was done in many scores of towns. The result was a greatly increased pressure on the part of Negro veterans for the positive benefits that are supposed to be available to them under the GI bill. In the early days we used to meet the argument that the Negro veterans had not asked for these things, and why was it so necessary to provide them? Now you never hear that. Generally speaking, Negro veterans are moderately well-informed as to what could be theirs, and they are increasingly active in pressing for realization of these benefits.

Achievement is not great. In most Southern states Negro veterans are somewhere around a third of all veterans. No statistics of veterans benefits are available on a race breakdown by states, but it is altogether doubtful whether in any single

Southern state, the third of the veterans who are Negro have as much as a fifth of the job training places or on-the-farm training places or full-time vocational school places. Still, the pressure for more for Negro veterans is being felt everywhere, and new opportunities are being found. Negro veterans have made their way as job trainees into many lines of business and industry from which Negroes have heretofore been rigidly excluded. Many men who have returned to the farms where they probably faced sinking back into the traditional patterns of tenancy and cropping have got hold of a piece of land and are going for half a day a week or more to vocational agriculture classes and are by way of learning the new skills that make the difference between poverty and a reasonably prosperous independence on the land.

Trade Training

To my mind the most significant thing is the growth all over the South of brand new trade training schools for Negro veterans. Town after town has worried about training opportunities and has arranged to tie into the local and state school systems new vocational work. You will find that the basement of Booker T. Washington High School has been cleaned out, and a couple of automobile engines moved in, and some lathes and tools are about, and twenty-seven Negro veterans are receiving full-time teaching in automobile mechanics. They get their GI subsistence, and the local school system gets so much per trainee per month, indirectly from the Veterans Administration, for the job of teaching. The teaching for the moment may not be too good, and the equipment is almost everywhere substandard, but the point is that the town has got legitimate public education for Negroes in a skill heretofore largely denied them. Most of these schools, I think, will grow. Persistent administrative pressure will improve them. Where they do a good job, they will almost certainly be kept after the veterans have ceased to use them, and the town and its people will benefit accordingly.

We have a special need for this sort of thing in the South, because we are moving ahead with industrialization in the very decade when clearly we shall be mechanizing agriculture apace. Industry will suck in skills, while agriculture cuts loose a million and a half hoehands. Surely it is wisdom to throw into that situation everything we can in the way of technical education that will fit farm-reared people to master the new mechanisms in agriculture if they stay on the land or to find a footing in the cities if they go there. And for the first time in our history when such skills are proposed, the old answer "We are too poor" cannot be made. Uncle Sam will carry the load on this.

The Veterans Services Division of the Southern Regional Council does not expect to go on forever. We went in and filled privately, with earnest and competent Negro personnel, a vacuum created by the carelessness and prejudice of official agencies, which made almost no effort to use Negroes in getting their work under way.

Negro Personnel

Now, belatedly, the Veterans Administration and the various state departments of education begin to pick up here and there Negro personnel and work on the problems of veterans. There is an occasional training officer or contact officer employed by the Veterans Administration. Alabama uses twenty-five negro coordinators of veterans education. Georgia has some forty Negroes who are state-paid with VA money to train Negro veterans in industrial skills or agriculture. Florida has half a dozen. Oklahoma and Arkansas have taken on a few. All of these men can be counted on to do from the official inside what during the past year our agents have been doing unofficially and privately from the outside.

And we have another earnest of continuing pressure in the self-organization of the veterans. Only this past summer, the states right across the Lower South, whose several departments of the American Legion had until then refused to charter Negro posts, have opened up and welcomed the Negroes—on terms, but they can come in. The VFW has pretty generally been glad to charter Negro posts. The American Veterans Committee has set an unsegregated pattern of cooperation between Negro and white veterans for civic attainment, and there are several quite effective Negro veterans organizations at work.

In a number of the states thus far, notably in Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, councils of Negro veterans have been established. They combine the leadership of various regular veterans membership organizations, with a view to supplying the need for a united and responsible voice for their group.

The Tactics of Progress

(*Continued from page* 3)

attracts attention. This would mean adopting the present generally used technique of name-calling and adopting fantastic attitudes toward people and movements, or devise some similar means of becoming spectacular.

A fourth question which arises is: How much, if any, direct action the central office staff should take in a local situation, and how much should be left to local leaders themselves? Frequently, we are called on to direct or participate in the solution of local problems and situations.

Right at this point, the question arises as to what constitutes "action" for the Southern Regional Council. There are many who expect us to duplicate the efforts of other organizations. There seem to be very few who have yet understood the approach to the problem of human relations from the positive constructive point of view.

These statements seem to me to involve the principal issues on which there needs be some clarification. Some clarification will result, I am confident, as you hear the reports of our staff speakers and field representatives which will follow my remarks.

Any program which the Council is to put over effectively will need more finances and more staff. It is not possible to stay in Atlanta and direct a program which will be effective with all of the people of the region.

Fundamental Aims

As the Southern Regional Council strives to advance in age and grace and wisdom it is well to remember that from our earliest beginnings we have had as a primary purpose the moral and material betterment of the region in which we function. These are some our fundamental aims: to help in transforming sectional isolationism into regional cooperation, racial friction into bi-racial understanding and helpfulness, religious prejudice into rivalry only in doing good.

Let us keep before us always the sound advice of our scholarly and gracious host, the president of Atlanta University, Dr. Rufus E. Clement who says: "Ours must be the long, hard task of teaching that each man who walks upon the earth is made in the image of God, that each of us has a moral obligation to assist the other man in his attempts to reach the full stature of his manhood, that only as one fits oneself for service to one's fellows may one earn their respect. Ours is the task of teaching men to despise the use of power to achieve their ends. We must make people understand that love is stronger than hatred, and that honesty and unselfishness are virtues to be sought after in national as well as in individual lives. We must make men know that neither riches nor poverty, color nor creed, can alter the fundamental sacredness of human personality."

SRC's Work and Plans

(*Continued from page 7*)

Three Years After

It has been a little less than three years since we held the Charter Meeting of the Council in this room. Much has happened since that first meeting. The Council has lived through the crisis of its childhood, and now it is beginning to find its real career. We hope and believe that it has demonstrated honesty and integrity in its policies, its investigations, its publications, and its programs of action. What it needs now is a chance to grow and to express its potentialities in full.

On account of the trends which I mentioned in the beginning, the liberal cause is not going to be popular for the next few years. But we must not be discouraged. The darker the night, the brighter the stars. There are many stars of hope shining. There is a steady trend toward democracy which will not be totally eclipsed by the present reaction. The South has more wealth, more income, more human skills, than it has ever had before. It is beginning to feel its power, to be confident, to be aggressive. It is a giant rising from a long sleep, a giant with one hand chained. Our task is to break that chain and give the two hands a chance to work together.

Mrs. Tilly Reports Action On SRC Separation Study

MRS. M. E. TILLY, field secretary for SRC, reported to members at the annual meeting some details of her work in the field. Here is a digest of Mrs. Tilly's report on action taken on the separation-in-transportation study made last year by SRC:

The segregation study made by the Southern Regional Council has challenged church women.

One session of the recent annual meeting of the United Council of Church Women, held at Grand Rapids, Michigan, was devoted to the consideration of "the equal but separate" tenets of some states and the segregation practices in states that have civil rights laws on their statute books.

Out of this session came two recommendations: (1) That in states having civil rights laws, church women encourage the acceptance and practice of the laws. (2) That church women continue to bring pressure to bear on government powers against the undemocratic practices in the administration of city affairs of our Nation's Capitol.

The Southeastern Jurisdiction Committee on Christian Social Relations of the Methodist Church, meeting in April, had Dr. Ira De A. Reid discuss the Atlanta study. Then both Dr. Reid and Dr. Guy Johnson spoke at the School of Missions, Lake Junaluska, N. C. From this, the Methodist women of the Southeast have decided to place major emphasis on the practices in transportation, education, hospitalization, etc., under our Southern laws of "equal but separate" facilities,

The Atlanta Council of Church Women will make definite use of the Atlanta study with emphasis on health and sanitation.

Committees from the Fulton-DeKalb Committee on Interracial Cooperation (an Atlanta affiliate of SRC), have had several conferences with the Georgia Power Company and one full open meeting at which officials of the Power Company were in attendance, directing the attention of the Power Company and the community to the possible dangerous outgrowth as a result of the recent shooting of a number of Negro passengers.

Dr. Charles S. Johnson Appointed President of Fisk University

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, noted sociologist and educator, Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Southern Regional Council, has announced acceptance of the presidency of Fisk University.

Dr. Johnson, who succeeds the recently resigned Dr. Thomas E. Jones, has been head of Fisk's Social Science Department since 1928.

The Conference of SRC Fellows

THE FIRST CONFERENCE of Fellows of the Southern Regional Council, held in Atlanta November 14-15, was attended by some 25 Fellows from most of the Southern states. The exchange of ideas and information, and the opportunity to meet together, created an enthusiastic atmosphere in the discussions. A selection from the transcript of the sessions follows:

NOVEMBER 14

SRC President Paul D. Williams:

"I am delighted to have had some little part in your coming here. One of the great dreams of Howard W. Odum was to create this idea of fellowship—this idea of having fellows of the Southern Regional Council—relatively young men and women of both races in wide areas of experience—so that they might act in a way in the field as the minutemen of old, to be in a sense quiet workers who would . . . give other hands to the work of SRC. When it was my privilege to walk . . . in the footsteps of Dr. Odum, it seemed to me that . . . if we could bring you together so that you might come to know one another, so that we might learn to know you, too . . . we could integrate our work with better understanding . . . I laid out before the General Education Board the prospects of bringing together the fellows for a two-day institute so that we might work together, plan together, dream together—if need be, pray together, so that out of the stumbling South might come a new vision . . . I certainly bid you welcome . . . Help us to work with heads high, thinking of a greater South to come."

Mr. J. M. Tydings, chairman of the Kentucky Interracial Council, was asked by Dr. Johnson to tell the fellows something of the work of his group and of the Kentucky Commission on Negro Affairs, of which Mr. Tydings was also chairman. Mr. Tydings said that the Commission, appointed by the Governor, was made up of 12 people of both races, who studied "facts about the needs of the Negro people."

Mr. Tydings:

". . . Then we found that an official body of that sort had certain limitations, and that is where the Kentucky Council which is an affiliate of SRC, came in. As a citizens group we had more freedom of action without political or party connections of any kind . . . As soon as the Commission's report was out, we picked up as a citizens group and drafted twelve bills for legislation, five of which actually got passed. We were fighting segregation in education, for instance, and while we did not succeed in that, we did succeed in getting almost treble the amount of money we formerly got for Negro education . . . We next hope to tackle the rural community . . .

"When we get through we hope to have a state organization of organizations. We are trying to coordinate the work already being done."

Dr. George S. Mitchell, director of SRC Veterans Services Division, spoke to the fellows on the problems and progress of Negro veterans in the South (Dr. Mitchell's report to the annual meeting is in this issue.)

ALABAMA

Miss T. Ruth Brett, Associate Personnel Director, Tuskegee Institute, told of her work and how it ties in with the aims and activities of SRC. She said she assisted in planning and directing interracial activities for students at Tuskegee. Miss Brett said that in working with student groups she tries to interpret to them the meaning of working together with members of different races, and that

she has found interracial meetings of students will go a long way in understanding.

(*Mr. Tydings* remarked: "I'd like to see a chapter of SRC in every Southern college. Just interracial committees is not enough. We must think in terms of bettering our communities.")

Miss Brett: "There are plenty of organizations already. What we need is a group like this working through those organizations. The students are ahead of us."

Dr. Flemmie P. Kittrell, head of the Department of Home Economics at Howard University: "Funds should be made available for students to carry on this type of work."

(*Mr. Samuel F. Freeman,* Pastor of Pulaski Heights Christian Church, Little Rock, said the Little Rock Interracial Commission had planned a series of radio programs on 'The Christian and Race' to be broadcast during the next three months. He said white and Negro students are putting on the programs, which are to be presented in a kind of town hall meeting of the air, with the public invited.)

Mr. Charles G. Gomillion, Dean of the School of Education, Tuskegee:

"My activities are concentrated in the field of working with students. We offer courses in race relations, in problems in the Southern Region, and we try to bring them into contact with students in other colleges who are interested in interracial and social problems.

"I have met with various organizations above the Mason-Dixon line, particularly in Ohio, and have had an opportunity to mention the work of the Southern Regional Council. These people have told me they did not know anything was being done on an interracial basis in the South. In the field of community activities I have attempted to work particularly in the area of suffrage and civil rights.

"We are not able to organize an interracial group at Tukegee. However, some of us have been able to work with individual whites in the community."

ARKANSAS

Mr. Samuel F. Freeman, Pastor, Pulaski Heights Christian Church, Little Rock:

"The Interracial Committee of Greater Little Rock has now affiliated with the Southern Regional Council. One of the things it has been able to do is to write a letter recommending that both the white and Negro ministerial alliances confer together and take the necessary action to become a Greater Little Rock Ministerial Alliance. We now have that.

"Another project on which we were able to be of a little help was in preventing the placing of the Negro Girls Training School close to a so-called boys school which is run by a former Arkansas sheriff. After other methods failed we had to try the courts. We did this not as members of the Southern Regional Council or even as an interracial commission, but just as a group of interested and — fairly — respectable citizens. We were successful in getting the judge to place a permanent injunction against having the girls school put anywhere on that property . . .

"We are in the midst of a Little Rock community survey and it looks most promising. Our police situation is not so good—we need more policemen in the Negro community. This survey group went to the police committee and to city council with its facts, and finally carried them to the press. Now things are looking better."

FLORIDA

Mr. Chester Cowart, Afro-American Life Insurance Co., Jacksonville:

"The major project in the Jacksonville area with which I have been connected is that of the Jacksonville

survey [see Dr. Johnson's report in this issue] . . . The survey included housing, sanitation, health, education and job placement. About 250 persons participated in the survey, both white and Negro. All the actual work was done by people in the community, not outsiders. This is important, for it places a peculiar responsibility upon people of the community. Now, we ourselves said these things were wrong, and it is up to the people of the community—ourselves—to do something with the results of that survey . . ."

GEORGIA

Mr. Howard G. McClain, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Mercer University, Macon:

"I am endeavoring to teach at Mercer, to try to give something to those who will be leaders in their communities to have a better attitude toward race . . .

"But a specific thing to prepare for and one which I should like to get assistance from you is an Institute for Town and Country Ministers to be held at Emory University next summer. While it is non-denominational, it is limited to white ministers. I have been invited to lead the discussion for one of the class periods on the rural minister and race. The idea is to try to give something on the level of what rural ministers can do in teaching Christian attitudes toward race . . . I'll appreciate suggestions from you on this."

KENTUCKY

Dr. G. D. Wilson, Professor of Education, Louisville Municipal College:

"I have no activities to report as a fellow, but I should like to tell you something of the situation I find myself in as a teacher in the Municipal College for Negroes. I have been trying to make the people of Louisville conscious of how great is the difference between what is offered at the Municipal College and what is offered at the University of Louisville. Charts have been prepared showing the discrepancies in what each college has to offer, and these have been presented to various groups in Louisville. Charts also have been prepared showing lack of opportunities for Negro doctors and nurses . . . I believe these charts and discussions have had some effect."

MISSISSIPPI

Dr. V. L. Wharton, Head of the Department of Sociology at Millsaps College, Jackson:

"It's true conditions are bad in Mississippi, but to get a true comparison look back to the period after the last war—then we see real progress, more progress than even liberals in Mississippi realize. We are getting an increased number of frightened liberals. If they become large enough we will find people not afraid to speak out—people who will be willing to speak out if others go with them.

"In my teaching work I have been able to carry my race relations teaching from my students at Millsaps to the Negro students at Tugaloo . . . But they are getting tired of having me as a go-between and they are beginning to get to want to know each other and talk together. Before it is over, these students will seek each other out. Problems will be solved, not by laws, but by finding some way by which cultured young white and Negro people will get to knew each other. Now, the white ministerial students want Negro ministerial students to come down and talk things over. Someday they will get together some kind of association. There is no limit to the possibilities . . ."

NORTH CAROLINA

Mrs. Annie Laurie McDonald, Associate Professor of Health Education and Sociology at Lenoir-Rhyne College, Hickory:

"There are three agencies for which I work which make it possible for me to have many opportunities I wish

more of my fellow teachers could have: part-time teacher at Lenoir-Rhyne and part-time worker for the Catawba County Health department and the county schools . . . I feel that we on the faculty do have an obligation to the town . . . We need to give our students actual experience in voluntary community service, give them an opportunity to participate in activities which give them first-hand information and let them get to know the people on the job. We hope to have a community council through which we can take problems of economics, labor, health, education, and see them in relation to each other. Do not discount the importance of members of both races meeting together and talking—that is a good way to get people to work together. Forget race—think in terms of the health of the *community,* a nursery school for the *community,* and so on . . ."

Mr. S. E. Duncan, State Supervisor of Negro High Schools in North Carolina:

"I was glad, some months ago, to do some work for Dr. Mitchell in connection with the training of Negro war veterans in Reidsville . . .

"I have participated in community planning for the city of Reidsville, which was done on an interracial basis. I believe we followed some of the same procedures and techniques followed in the Jacksonville survey. Ours was a two-year program, and we feel that some very fine things have been accomplished.

"There is a movement afoot now to bring veterans who have not been exposed to high school curriculum into a program which will consist of practical mechanics, to the end that they may be upgraded in their work . . ."

Mr. Allyn P. Robinson, North Carolina Director of the National Conference of Christians and Jews:

"I think there has been a decided change in attitude in our community. Some years ago our church was the only church there which would attempt an interracial meeting. Now other churches do it . . .

"At Raleigh our project committee came up with some elaborate plans and we said we needed a large group.

"One thing I wish the regional office of SRC would look after in Winston-Salem: what I find there seems to me to indicate that it is one of the problem centers of our state. I haven't yet found an approach through my organization, and perhaps that is one point where we might try to work out some sort of program of approach."

Mr. Ralph McGill, Editor of the Atlanta Constitution, who in his daily columns spearheaded the public opinion battle against Atlanta's race-baiting organization 'The Columbians,' spoke informally to the fellows in the afternoon. Mr. McGill said that if the minds of Southerners could be cleared of the bugaboo of 'social equality' much more progress could be made. He said that this might well be the 'number one job' to be done in the South. Asked whether he felt that newspapers could be helpful in making interracial meetings 'respectable' in the eyes of the public, Mr. Gill said that he thought newspapers could help, but that he believed this could best be done by holding such meetings in places or with the sponsorship of organizations that already have prestige, such as the churches and schools.

NOVEMBER 15

NORTH CAROLINA

Miss Margaret Fletcher, Director of St. Mary's House, Episcopal Student Center, Greensboro:

"My work has been through the schools and churches. I have been able to do some interracial work through the church on a statewide

program, serving in an interdenominational conference which calls together students from all colleges. We do not call it an interracial conference because it is for students who are called together annually to discuss those problems. Naturally, racial matters are frequently discussed, but they have not been the focal point—that has been the world community and our part in it . . .

"There are other state groups which are also biracial in character . . . In Greensboro our group has been the Intercollegiate Group on Religion and Race Relations—there's been mostly talk but our project last year was a workshop on democratic community living . . . The upshot has been that workshops within the larger group have been appointed to work on playgrounds, hospitals, and intercollegiate cooperation . . ."

Mr. Cyrus M. Johnson, Director of the North Carolina Commission on Interracial Cooperation:

"We are setting up a program which will provide for local groups promoting racial understanding . . . At our last meeting the executive committee moved to become affiliated with the Southern Regional Council, with the thought in mind to become a State Division [of SRC] before long . . ."

Mr. John R. Larkins, Consultant on Negro Life of the North Carolina Department of Public Welfare:

"There has been a Negro on the administrative staff of the North Carolina Department of Public Welfare since 1925. I have been in this particular job for five years. We found that if we are to plan intelligently we must have an idea of the needs and facilities already available . . .

"More and more we are coming to see our problems as problems of the state at large and not just problems affecting Negroes, and we are attempting to plan our programs on this basis, knowing that in a broad, comprehensive statewide program Negroes will benefit along with the others . . ."

Dr. Flemmie P. Kitrell, Head of the Department of Home Economics, Howard University:

Miss Kitrell, a native of North Carolina, reported that she had worked to develop a speakers bureau of persons well versed in human relations to address forum groups, youth organizations, school projects and churches. Other of her work included: assisting in the organization of a traveling library of books on Negro life and other minority groups; taking part in the organization of an interracial church in Washington, D. C.; serving as a member of the Committee of Pan-American Women whose purpose is to bring about a fuller understanding among women of the Americas.

Mr. George M. Stephens (Consultant), The Stephens Press, Asheville:

"I serve on the Interracial Committee in Asheville, which is laying the foundation of understanding, so that when a need does come we will know how to go to each other and avoid painful situations . . .

"Our main resources naturally are people—that, I believe, is the greatest thing we can do—to make easy ways for interchange of ideas which will stimulate people to do their work better. This sort of conference is a great thrill to a man like me who spends most of the day working with a pencil. I appreciate the opportunity of being here."

TENNESSEE

Miss Josephine Hamilton, high school history teacher, Chattanooga:

"I just teach," said Miss Hamilton, but she told the group that she introduced a course on 'Southern Problems' in the high school curriculum and that she worked for Federal aid to education. Miss Hamilton, who is president of the Chattanooga Federation of Teachers (AFL), also worked

with the teachers' unions on salary adjustment.

Mr. Merl Raymond Eppse, Chairman of the Division of Liberal Arts, A. & I. College, Nashville:

"We are now in the process of forming a local unit of the Southern Regional Council in Nashville—forty-six persons came to the organizational meeting . . . We've broken up into committees to find out what pertinent problems are existing in the community which should be studied . . . Interracial work is being carried on among young people in the Christian churches."

TEXAS

Mr. Jackson Valtair, private instructor, Dallas:

"Fascism is springing up at home, while we spend our time and thought on foreign counties. We have the KKK . . . a hostile press . . . liberal publications are dying off almost as soon as they have begun. Labor is being pushed back very steadily . . .

"Now, the good things: experienced native leadership is beginning to get together at the state level, leadership that understands itself and state problems . . . The Methodist and Unitarian churches are doing a good job —the Methodist Church is stronger. Labor leadership is as good in Texas as anywhere in the South . . . They are doing an excellent job . . .

"We are so close to achieving a real democracy, we think if we hold our gains in Texas it will spread to the other Southern states."

Mr. W. Barton Beatty, Executive Secretary, YMCA, Dallas:

"I served on the Law and Crime Committee, which was organized by the Council of Social Agencies . . . This committee was composed of two Negro members and three white. The study showed the same results as similar studies . . . Finally, this committee decided to submit its findings to the press . . . Publicity was very favorable. As a result, this week examinations are being given for Negro policemen . . .

". . . We have decided it is a mistake to appoint to work on these various committees only those persons who are already sold. Now we invite to serve on these committees people who are not of the same mind . . .

"The Texas Interracial Commission is holding its annual meeting on December sixth in Houston, and they have asked me to make a full report on this meeting. They want to affiliate with the Southern Regional Council . . ."

Mr. Ernest E. Neal, Director of Applied Education, Bishop College, Marshall:

"I have been in interracial work since 1939, but I am interested in rural problems generally. As accomplishments, I might mention that at Tyler I helped set up a community council, as a result of which we got a Negro public library, a Negro worker in the Child Welfare Department, a shop in the Negro high school. I have assisted with the development of a state program on health education for the State of Texas . . ."

VIRGINIA

Mrs. Raynell Goodman Lantor, former Richmond public school teacher, South Boston:

"I work with eleven and twelve year olds . . . We decided that first we must understand ourselves before we could understand others: what kind of people make up our classroom, our community, our Nation? . . . We invited friends to the classroom for discussion, wrote many letters, did research work, visited the various churches in Richmond—Protestant, Catholic, Jewish . . . We invited in students from another school whose parents were foreign born, and Negro students from another school. We presented our project as a panel discussion on the radio as a contribution to Brotherhood Week . . . The children visited the

Negro school, but only with the permission of their parents. Very few refused this permission."

Mr. Roscoe E. Lewis, Associate Professor and Acting Director of the Social Science Department, Hampton Institute:

"I can speak only of Hampton Institute. The students there are studying organizations, largely Negro organizations around Hampton Institute. We want to know what the program is, what is the purpose of their existence, what national or statewide affiliation is there, what interracial associations are involved . . . My students . . . say this about this organization [SRC]—that it might be termed a middle-of-the-road organization; it sees the uselessness perhaps of sending telegrams, by affixing signatures, as in the Bilbo case. They see the uselessness of a good bit of the propaganda that the so-called pressure organizations utilize. They say . . . this organization proceeds . . . toward promoting group understanding, perhaps has the potentiality of doing more for a race relations program than the so-called pressure organization, in terms of the possibility of approach to the people whom I had in mind when I asked the question about 'respectability' . . . There are people in every community who are pursuing their quiet way, unprejudiced, immersed in their particular activities . . . These are the people whose attitudes are not fixed . . . who have so much to contribute to the interracial picture in their . . . communities . . .

"I shall be able to tell my students I think we have considered as the theme of this whole conference: 'What are we going to do in our local communities?' "

After the fellows' reports, *Mrs. M. E. Tilly,* Field Secretary for SRC and Secretary of the Methodist women's Department of Social Relations, spoke briefly to the group. Mrs. Tilly urged the fellows to build up interest in government and law enforcement at the community level.

Mrs. Tilly:

"Another thing—in thinking of Mr. McClain's course for ministers at Emory University . . . There's a group of people we've not talked much about, those people who make up the Columbians, the Ku Klux Klan. As you talk to these ministers remember these forgotten people of the church. I saw those Columbians. They had found something in their lives they could grasp. There are too many of them for the church to neglect. You have got to reach those people somehow . . .

"In all the courses we have taught we have never taught them what to do in an emergency. I was in a minister's office recently in a town wrecked by riot. He told me of his good intentions. He suffered terribly. He had been called by a Negro who begged him to do something. He did not know anything to do, so he went to bed. So, in any course in race relations there should be some way to teach them what to do . . ."

Mrs. Henry Havens, Field Secretary for SRC, introduced to the group, said that she had "nothing special to say," but told the fellows that their conference had been "tremendously encouraging" to her. Those fellows living in the seaboard states from Virginia to Florida, she said, "will certainly see and hear a great deal from me during the next year."

As the conference came to a close the fellows, enthusiastic over their first opportunity to meet together, discussed numerous suggestions for planning next year's sessions, if such can be arranged. Dr. Johnson told them that he hoped SRC could obtain a renewal of the grant which made this conference possible, because "this is one of the best things the Council is doing . . . We see the potentialities . . . for this group and we see ways of helping you to do more effectively what you are trying to do . . ."

Resolutions of SRC 1946 Annual Meeting

The Southern Regional Council, Inc., wishes to record its considered judgment that the cause of better understanding and good will between the races in the South has made steady advancement in the last two decades. A more enlightened press, churches and other organizations concerned with the application of genuine religion to human affairs, liberal educators and progressive laymen of both races have shown courage and statesmanship in creating in the South conditions conducive to normal, happy and successful living by all of its citizens.

The Council regrets that the results of such consecrated effort should have been to some extent counterbalanced in the post war period by a handful of bigots and assassins. The resurgence of organized intolerance and mob action culminating in the foul slaying of innocent men and women draws upon the South the scorn and contempt of civilized men everywhere.

The most disturbing feature of the situation has been the failure of officers of the law to protect their prisoners, to prevent organized murder and to apprehend and punish the guilty. The apparent immunity of lynchers constitutes the most serious indictment of states in which lynching occurs. Official utterances have not always been too reassuring as to the degree or extent of effort to detect.

It is, therefore,

Resolved: 1. That the Council adopts as one of its principal objectives for the ensuing year the enforcement of all laws designed to thwart or punish mob violence.

2. That it summons to its aid all religious, civic and social institutions and all citizens of the South in creating a sound public opinion deeply antagonistic to organized bigotry and mob violence.

Resolved, that the Southern Regional Council, Inc., hereby expresses the sincere regret which it feels at the resignation of Miss Emily Clay as Secretary and Treasurer of this organization; its sense of obligation for capable and devoted services rendered by her to it for three years and to the Commission on Interracial Cooperation for twenty years in that official capacity, and its conviction that her skill and zeal have greatly advanced the cause of understanding, tolerance and goodwill throughout the South.

SRC in the South's Future

(*Continued from page* 10)

desirable and lasting results in the shortest possible time. "State's responsibilities" must catch up with "state's rights" as quickly as possible. One human life is more valuable than any distorted conception of sovereignty.

America has the opportunity to contribute to a harrassed world a way of life in peaceful production.

It is America's moral obligation to prove that democracy works for men of all races, colors and creeds instead of for the one-tenth English speaking or the one-third white people of the world's two billions. Time is not long and delay is costly. The South's future for the nation and the world is a working demonstration of the brotherhood of man.

Recommendations Approved by 1946 Annual Meeting

1. That joint memberships in the Southern Regional Council be established hereafter for husband and wife (provided that one mailing address is used), and that dues for such memberships be $3.00 a year.

2. That all Honorary Fellows, whose terms expire this year, be reappointed to serve for another two years.

3. That in the program for the ensuing year major emphasis be in the following fields: (1) law enforcement, (2) police training, and (3) prevention of violence.

4. That a pamphlet be issued by the Council which would discuss voting in the Southern States and the effect of extending the franchise to various groups; this pamphlet to include statements of prominent people, newspaper editorials, and signatures of responsible citizens, for the purpose of allaying the fears which many people have concerning voting by Negroes.

5. That the Council urge the State Divisions and Affiliates to make the matter of suffrage one of their major activities for the coming year.

6. That the Council accept with regrets the resignation of Miss Emily H. Clay, Secretary-Treasurer, who is moving to another state.

7. That the matter of selecting a National Advisory Committee be referred to the Executive Committee, with the power to act, and that the members of the Board of Directors be asked to make suggestions to the Executive Committee concerning personnel for the Committee.

Mrs. George Madden Martin, author and fighter for social justice, died at her home in Louisville November 30. Mrs. Martin, author of the "Emmy Lou" and "Abbie Ann" books and other works, was a charter member of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and was chairman of the Association of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching. She was active in the cause of interracial understanding up to the time of her death at 80 years of age.

Mrs. Tilly, SRC Field Secretary, Named for Civil Rights Group

Mrs. M. E. Tilly, Field Secretary for SRC, has been appointed a member of the committee on civil rights recently created by executive order of President Truman to study recommendations for broadening Federal civil rights laws.

Mrs. Tilly, who is Secretary of the Department of Social Relations, Women's Society of Christian Service of the Methodist Church, is widely known throughout the South and the Nation for her active work for SRC and the Methodist Church.

Chairman of the President's new 15-member committee is Mr. C. E. Wilson, President of General Electric Company and former vice-chairman of the War Production Board.

When Field Representative Harry L. Wright, of SRC's Veterans Services Division, was unable to get any statistics on the number of Negro veterans served in Mississippi by the various veterans agencies because no separate filing records were kept by race, he wrote to his chief, Dr. George S. Mitchell: "Everything in Mississippi is segregated except the files."

Board of Directors Elects New Members

ELECTION of new members of SRC's Board of Directors at the annual meeting in Atlanta November 13 emphasized again the broad cross-section of the Council's members and officers. A newspaperman, a minister and an educator were among the new Board members.

All present members of the Board of Directors were reelected. Those newly elected Board members who have so far accepted are:

Dr. Felton Clark, President, Southern University, Baton Rouge, La.

Mis Emily H. Clay who, at the meeting, resigned from the post of Secretary-Treasurer of SRC, whose home is now at Clearwater, Fla.

The Rev. D. V. Jemison, President of the National Baptist Convention, Selma, Ala.

Mr. Edgar Ray, Managing Editor of *The Tampa Times, Tampa, Fla.* (Mr. Ray is chairman of the Florida State Division of SRC.)

Following is the full roster, except for the new members, of SRC's Board of Directors:

Dr. Will W. Alexander, Vice-President Julius Rosenwald Fund, Chapel Hill, N. C.

Mrs. Jessie Daniel Ames, formerly field director Commission on Interracial Cooperation, Tryon, North Carolina

President Rufus B. Atwood, State College, Frankfort, Kentucky

Rabbi Stanley Brav, Vicksburg, Mississippi

President Charlotte Hawkins Brown, Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, North Carolina

Mr. Wilson M. Brown, State Planters and Trust Company, Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Louis E. Burnham, Organizational Secretary, Southern Negro Youth Congress, Birmingham, Alabama.

Mr. Hodding Carter, Editor, Delta Democrat-Times, Greenville, Mississippi

President Rufus E. Clement, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia

Rt. Rev. Charles Clingman, Episcopal Bishop Kentucky Diocese, Louisville, Kentucky

Dr. William E. Cole, Professor of Sociology, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tennessee

Mr. Virginius Dabney, Editor, Times-Dispatch, Richmond, Virginia

Mr. R. P. Daniel, Attorney, Jacksonville, Florida

Mr. Ernest Delpit, President and Business Manager, Carpenters Local, A. F. of L., New Orleans, Louisiana

President A. W. Dent, Dillard University, New Orleans, Louisiana

Mr. O. D. Duncan, Professor of Sociology and Rural Life, Oklahoma A. and M. College, Stillwater, Oklahoma

Mr. P. H. Easom, State Agent, Division of Negro Education, Department of Education, Jackson, Mississippi

Dr. Clark Foreman, President, Southern Conference for Human Welfare, Washington, D. C.

Mr. Charles H. Gillman, Regional Director, CIO, Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. H. D. Goode, Dentist, Pensacola, Florida

Mr. John A. Griffin, Assistant to the President, Emory University, Georgia

Mr. Leonard Haas, Attorney, Counsel for SRC, Atlanta, Georgia

Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, Executive Director, Atlanta Urban League, Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. Gordon B. Hancock, Professor, Department of Economics and Sociology, Virginia Union University, Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Jacob R. Henderson, Manager, John Eagan Housing Project, Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. R. B. Herbert, Attorney, Columbia, South Carolina

Dr. Luther P. Jackson, Social Science Professor, Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia

The Rev. Maynard Jackson, Baptist Minister, Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Louis I. Jaffe, Editor, Norfolk Virginian-Pilot, Norfolk, Virginia

Dr. Charles S. Johnson, President-Elect, Fisk University, Nashville, Tennessee

Dr. Guy B. Johnson, Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia

President David D. Jones, Bennett College, Greensboro, North Carolina

Mr. Z. A. Looby, Attorney, Nashville, Tennessee

Mr. Armand May, Business Executive, Atlanta 1, Georgia

President Benjamin E. Mays, Morehouse College, Atlanta, Georgia

Dr. E. A. McDowell, Professor, New Testament Interpretation, Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Kentucky

Rt. Rev. Msgr. T. James McNamara, Atlanta-Savannah Diocese, Catholic Church, Savannah, Georgia

Mr. L. D. Milton, President, Citizens Trust Company, Atlanta, Georgia

Bishop Arthur J. Moore, Methodist Church, Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. Alfred Mynders, Editor, The Chattanooga Times, Chattanooga, Tennessee

Dr. N. C. Newbold, Director of Negro Education, State Dept. of Public Instruction, Raleigh, North Carolina

Dr. Howard W. Odum, Head, Department of Sociology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, N. C.

The Most Rev. Gerald P. O'Hara, Atlanta-Savannah Diocese, Catholic Church, Savannah, Georgia

Mr. C. H. Parrish, Jr., Professor, Louisville Municipal College, Louisville, Kentucky.

President F. D. Patterson, Tuskegee Institute, Tuskegee, Alabama

President Raymond Paty, Chancellor-Elect, University system of Georgia

Rt. Rev. E. A. Penick, Bishop, Episcopal Church, Raleigh, North Carolina

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Dr. Ira De A. Reid, Head, Department of Sociology, Atlanta University, Atlanta, Georgia

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President J. W. Seabrook, Fayetteville State Teachers College, Fayetteville, North Carolina

Mr. Philip Shulhafer, Business Executive, Atlanta, Georgia

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Dean Thomas S. Staples, Hendrix College, Conway, Arkansas

Mr. Edgar B. Stern, Cotton Factor, New Orleans, La.

Mrs. A. M. P. Strong, formerly president, National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers, Marianna, Arkansas

Dr. J. G. Stuart, Physician, Columbia, South Carolina

Miss Florence Sytz, Professor, Tulane School of Social Work, New Orleans, Louisiana

Dr. Harold L. Trigg, Associate Executive Director, Southern Regional Council, Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. J. M. Tydings, Business Manager, Lincoln Institute; Chairman, Kentucky Council on Interracial Cooperation, Lincoln Ridge, Kentucky

Mr. Forrester B. Washington, Director, Atlanta University, School of Social Work, Atlanta, Georgia

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Miss Josephine Wilkins, Director, Citizens' Fact-Finding Movement of Georgia, Atlanta, Georgia

Mr. F. C. Willcoxon, State Secretary, YMCA; Chairman, Mississippi Interracial Council, Vicksburg, Mississippi

Mr. Aubrey Williams, Publisher, Southern Farmer, Montgomery, Alabama

Mr. Paul D. Williams, President Southern Regional Council; Vice President, Mentzer-Bush Publishing Company; Director, Catholic Committee of the South, Richmond, Virginia

Mr. Marion A. Wright, Attorney, Chairman, S. C. Committee of SRC, Conway, South Carolina

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